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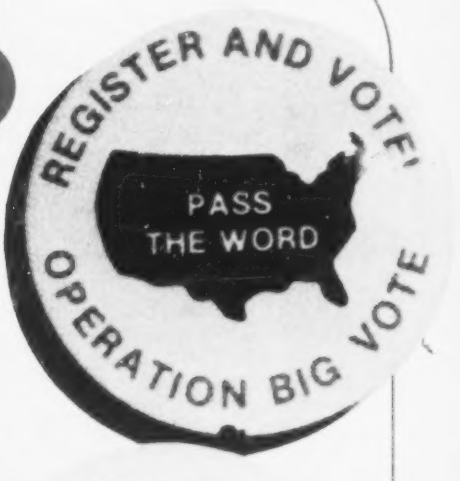

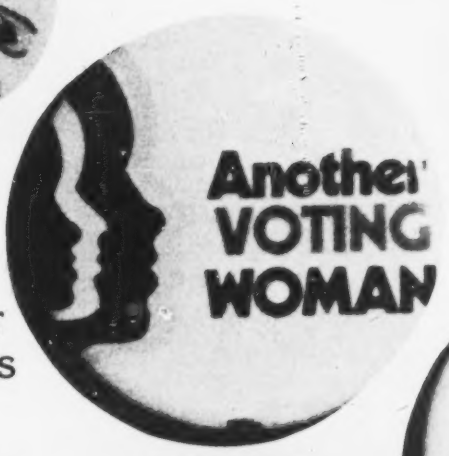

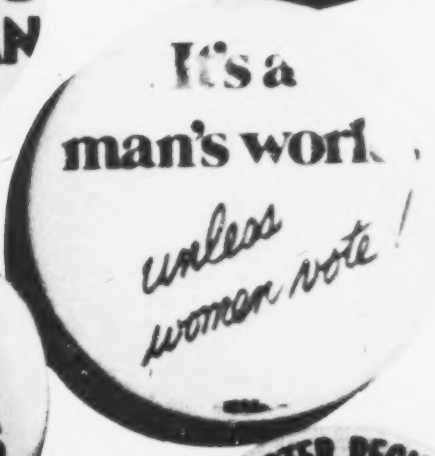

"Two Million More in '84"

A nationwide, nonpartisan black voter registration campaign is in full gear

A Black Woman's Place

The National Black Women's Political Caucus is off the ground

Welfare Policy and the Working Poor

Government policies actually *discourage* welfare recipients from finding work.

Plus:

The first results from a JCPS poll of political attitudes

On the Scene in Dallas

The Republicans try to become "America's Party"

ISSN 0740-0195

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

Last month, the Joint Center released major findings of a recent nationwide survey of the reactions of black and white voters to the American political environment during the 1984 presidential campaign. This is our first full-scale national survey. It was undertaken to fill in gaps in the nation's knowledge of black political participation and to help all of us better understand forces that shape black and white political attitudes and their different consequences. Some of the highlights are reported on page 8; a full analysis will be published in October.

This study is unique in its comprehensiveness and its oversampling of blacks, who generally show up as only 10 percent of most national surveys. The study seeks to minimize distortions and biases in other ways as well. It is based on personal interviews rather than telephone interviews. A majority of whites interviewed white respondents and a majority of blacks interviewed black respondents. The project was conducted under the supervision of Milton D. Morris, JCPS director of research, and was managed by Tom Cavanagh, a senior research associate at the center.

I'd like to share a few observations based on some of the study's major findings. First, blacks are continuing to increase the emphasis they place on political participation as a means of achieving their goals and objectives. The more successful they become, the more their emphasis increases. And at least in national elections, blacks continue to be overwhelmingly committed to the Democratic party and its presidential nominee. Young blacks in particular—those 18-24 years old—are becoming more politically active. In fact, blacks 18-35 years old make up a significant proportion of newcomers to the political arena.

Overall, the gap between rates of black and white voter registration has narrowed, from about 12 percentage points to about 5 percentage points. Since 1982, blacks have out-registered whites by 7 percent to 4 percent. The white-black turnout gap also appears to be decreasing from about 10 percentage points in 1980 to 6 percentage points which the survey projects for 1984.

A major catalyst in the upsurge in black political activism was the Jackson candidacy. But while Jackson is given very high marks as a national leader, he is generally viewed as only one of a number of major leaders. The success of black mayors and other black politicians has had a significant impact on black political consciousness.

The considerable differences between the attitudes of white and black voters on a number of important issues suggest the enormous difficulty that political parties and candidates confront when appealing to all voters. The difficulty for Republicans is especially pronounced. Under present circumstances, the GOP stands little chance of increasing its base among blacks, and, in fact, the JCPS survey suggests that President Reagan will lose some black Republican support in the 1984 election.

Yet despite the dilemma that blacks face, believing that the Republican party ignores them and the Democratic party takes them for granted, they appear to be unalterably committed to the two-party system and overwhelmingly opposed to a black separatist movement or a black political party.

This is our first national poll, but we hope it will not be our last. We expect to institutionalize the survey, conducting it at least once a year in connection with our assessment of the state of black politics.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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On the Scene in Dallas

by Lorn S. Foster

(Dr. Foster is a senior fellow at the Joint Center, on leave from Pomona College in Claremont, California, where he is associate professor of government and black studies.)

Even more than the Democrats, the Republicans sought to make their national convention a media extravaganza with no questions from the audience. And while the country at least had to watch the Democratic convention to find out whether Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart would enthusiastically back Walter Mondale, no one at the Republican convention—including the 70-odd black delegates—was threatening to withhold support from the Reagan-Bush ticket.

The Republicans tried to convey two basic, related messages through their show of unity: that their party best represents mainstream American values, and that their party is successful and optimistic, in contrast to the Democratic party, which they portrayed as incompetent and dispirited. By celebrating Reagan's "successful" economic and foreign policies and by characterizing the Democratic party as untrue to its own heritage, they attempted to broaden their party base and draw in many traditionally Democratic voters.

During the convention, the speakers portrayed their party as maintaining the traditions of an earlier generation of Democrats. Jeanne Kirkpatrick's foreign policy address to the convention, placing the hard-line anti-communism of Ronald Reagan in the tradition of Harry Truman and Scoop Jackson, was aimed as much at Democratic viewers at home as at the audience in the Dallas Convention Center. Other speakers stressed the fact that moderate Democrats, such as Senators John Glenn and Ernest Hollings and former Governor Reubin Askew, were some of the earliest casualties in the Democratic caucuses and primaries. Perhaps, they suggested, moderate to conservative Democrats would be more comfortable voting for President Reagan and other Republican candidates than for the party that, according to Reagan, spends taxpayers' money like "drunken sailors."

Many pundits noted that the Republican platform had been taken over by the right-wing of the party. Nevertheless, the image that the Republicans attempted to convey to the nation was not that of an ideologically polarized party but that of a party dedicated to economic growth and development for all. The Republicans boasted that personal taxes had been cut substantially, inflation was down, and employment was up since the beginning of the Reagan presidency.

But although the Republicans dubbed themselves "America's Party," a lot of America—especially those who are not wealthy and not white—were scarcely represented on the convention floor, in the platform, or in the rhetoric. This year, 3.1 percent of the delegates were black, up slightly from the 2.7 percent in 1980. (Among the convention speakers were Legree Daniels, president of the National Black Republican Council and a minority affairs liaison with the Reagan-Bush campaign; Wendell Wilkie Gunn, former White House aide; and the Reverend E. V. Hill, a Baptist minister from Los Angeles and a close advisor to the Reverend Jerry Falwell.)

The Republicans did try to respond in a positive way to the Democrats' nomination of Representative Geraldine Ferraro as their vice-presidential candidate. Some 48.5 percent of the Republican delegates were women, as a number of male delegates voluntarily gave up their seats to women. The convention's keynote address was delivered by U.S. Treasurer Katherine Ortega. Other major addresses were delivered by the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeanne S. Kirkpatrick; Secretary of Health and Human Services Margaret Heckler; and by Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole. The substantial number of female delegates and the prominent roles played by women at the convention were indicative of the Republicans' attempt to neutralize the Democrats' increasing appeal to women.

In the initial draft of the Republican party platform, only four lines addressed minority concerns. A Japanese-American delegate to the platform committee pointed out to the platform committee and to the press that having so little in the platform regarding minority interests would make it difficult for the party to appeal to minority voters.

In the platform adopted by the convention, there is a half page specifically on minority interests and another two and a half pages on women's issues. The platform calls for a civil rights policy "premised on the letter of the 1964 Civil Rights Act" and comes out strongly against quotas. At no point does it call for full enforcement of the recently passed Voting Rights Act, for fair housing legislation, or for a jobs program that pays particular interest to minority concerns. Throughout the platform, however, it is stated that all citizens, regardless of race and gender, have benefited from the president's economic policies.

Black Republicans at the convention were well aware of the fact that most blacks identify with the Democratic party. In conversations, they maintained that blacks are welcome in the Republican party and that blacks need to join the Republican party if the two-party system is to work for blacks. Black Republicans extolled President Reagan's tax and spending policies as benefiting blacks, and argued that enterprise zones were a better means of achieving economic growth than public works programs.

With black support for both Reagan and the Republican party at single-digit levels, it is mathematically impossible for the Republicans to lose much more of their black support, and a number of prominent Republicans are beginning to work at turning the situation around. All five of the leading Republican contenders for 1988—Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, Vice President George Bush, Congressman Jack Kemp (R-NY), and the husband-and-wife team of Senate Finance Committee Chairman Robert Dole and Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole—have closer ties to the black community than does Ronald Reagan. Senator Dole was particularly outspoken in support of the Martin Luther King holiday bill, and Kemp has been sensitized to the needs of the poor in representing his blue-collar constituency outside Buffalo. After the Reagan administration, at least some of the antagonism blacks feel toward the Republican party may fade, creating some interesting political opportunities for both blacks and Republicans disturbed by the one-party domination of current black politics.

A Black Women's Place

by Julie E. Dade

(Ms. Dade is Director of Programs for the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Inc.)

Meeting last month in Washington, D.C., a group of nationally prominent and politically active black women signaled a dramatic shift in the strategy they will pursue—and will encourage other black women to pursue—in an effort to influence public policy at all levels of government. The group founded the National Black Women's Political Caucus—the first organization of its kind.

Through civil rights, social, and professional organizations, black women have always sought to improve their communities. But when they wanted to influence public policy through the political process, their options seemed limited to letter-writing campaigns, voter registration drives, or work in coalition with other groups. More often than not, black women felt they were sought out primarily to legitimize the label "coalition"; when final decisions were made, their opinions often went unheeded.

First Steps

In the early 1970s, black women began creating local and state political organizations to gain greater political leverage. Today, these groups continue to provide financial support, research, training, and endorsements for candidates seeking elective office. The list of such groups is rapidly increasing; it includes California's Black Women Organized for Political Action; the Black Women's Agenda, founded by California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters; the Black Women's Alliance, in Houston, Texas; the Black Women's Political Action Committee, in Cleveland, Ohio; Women in Unity, in Seattle, Washington; and the Colorado Black Women Organized for Political Action. These groups have raised thousands of dollars, and their efforts may have provided the winning margin for some candidates in local and statewide races.

The idea of establishing a national organization followed naturally from the success of these state and local groups. The question of when was answered after the Democratic National Convention: black women again felt frustrated in their attempts to influence the decisions of coalitions with which they were involved—in this case, both the black and women's caucuses.

Why a Black Women's Caucus?

At the August 9 meeting at which the National Black Women's Political Caucus was founded, some of the participants detailed their reasons for creating the organization. "Neither the black movement nor the women's movement in this country has addressed the problems of blacks who are female," said former Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, who in 1972 became the first black to mount a serious presidential campaign. C. Delores Tucker, vice chair of the Democratic National Committee's black caucus, added "black women walked away [from the convention] feeling the party had forsaken them and unless they organized they would continue to be left out." Ms. Chisholm and Ms. Tucker were named chair and vice chair, respectively, of the new political caucus. Other founding members included Mary Berry, member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Faye B. Bryant, president, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Hortense Canady, president, Delta Sigma Theta; LeGree Daniels, chair of the National Black Republican Council; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Jewell Jackson McCabe, president, National Coalition of 100 Black Women; and Eleanor Holmes Norton, professor, Georgetown University Law School.

Everyone present agreed that the general goal of the organization would be twofold: to have an impact on the 1984 elections and to build an organization that would increase the political participation of all black women over 18. They decided that the group would be a political caucus including Democratic, Republican, and independent women committed to an eight point mission:

- encouraging every black woman to register and vote;
- teaching black women how the political process operates and how they can operate effectively within it;
- encouraging black women to seek office at all levels;
- endorsing candidates for public office;
- providing financial support for candidates for public office;
- encouraging the appointment of black women to responsible positions within both political parties and at all levels of government;
- developing and advocating public policy positions; and
- preparing black women under 18 to enter the political arena.

The group's long-range plans include a national meeting to conduct workshops on campaign strategy, fundraising, and devising a legislative agenda. Members have also begun to study federal, statewide, and local races. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, only 22 percent of all black elected officials are women. Expressing disappointment over the defeat of Congresswoman Katie Hall (D-IN) and the narrowness of the primary victory of Cardiss Collins (D-IL), the caucus has already identified congressional contests as one of its key concerns. Both Ms. Hall and Ms. Collins are founding members of the caucus.

The new group will also focus on the issues of housing, education, foreign policy, employment training, business development, and the feminization of poverty, which affects a huge number of black women. One-half of all black families are headed by women, and 70 percent of these families are living below the poverty line.

But with black women representing 55.7 percent of the 18 million blacks of voting age, voter registration, education, and turnout must assume a high place on the caucus' agenda. Black women have the potential

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Two Million More in '84

by Kevin Armstrong

(The author is staff writer at the Joint Center for Political Studies.)

"Two million more in 1984" is the rallying cry of a collective effort to enlist some of the seven million voting-age blacks who remain unregistered. Coined by the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, the slogan sets forth the goal of a nationwide, nonpartisan voter registration campaign that is currently in full gear.

Campaign Support

The campaign enjoys unprecedented support from several major foundations. Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller, for example, have each contributed $25,000 or more to the work of the National Coalition and the Voter Education Project (VEP), two prominent organizations devoted primarily to signing up black voters. Foundation support of *all* nonpartisan, tax-exempt voter registration groups has doubled since 1983, but most of the funding is going to organizations with special 4945(f) tax-exempt IRS status. Recipients of this special status must spend at least 85 percent of their income on nonpartisan, educational, or charitable voter registration programs in five or more states and remain active for more than one election period. So far, the National Coalition and VEP are the only 2 black groups of the 12 organizations that have received 4945(f) status.

Public Service Announcements (PSAs)—brief informational radio or television commercials for a specific public service or cause—will play an important role in this year's effort to persuade more eligible blacks to register and vote. Broadcast free of charge, PSAs are accepted only from tax-exempt organizations and must be strictly nonpartisan. All three of the national television networks have pledged to support the use of PSAs in voter registration drives, and after labor day, the top 50 black radio stations in the country began airing voter registration PSAs taped by CBS recording artists, including Carl Anderson, Roy Ayers, Ramsey Lewis, and Wynton Marsalis.

The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation also has a special project aimed at increasing political participation among black women. The Black Women's Roundtable on Voter Participation seeks to train black women to develop leadership skills, emphasize the importance of the women's vote, and ensure the involvement of black women in discussions of the "gender gap" as an influence in elections. The National Coalition is distributing "Black Women Vote—It's Their Heritage" posters as well as "1984 Operation Big Vote" posters. The posters are available for $3.00 each from the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

Campaign Strategy

Earlier this year, several voter registration groups formed the National Clearinghouse Project on Black Voter Participation to coordinate the diverse functions of the national registration campaign. The Clearinghouse Project has three specific tasks: funding of local voter registration and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) drives; administration of these efforts; and ensuring the efficient use and exchange of information and limited resources.

As the only two black 4945(f) designees, the National Coalition and VEP will be responsible for using funds they receive to initiate nonpartisan registration and GOTV campaigns in states with sizable populations of unregistered blacks. Within each state, local branches of national organizations and church groups such as the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Congress of National Black Churches will administer the registration campaigns in coalition with public officials, representatives of the National Coalition or VEP, and local groups, such as women's organizations, sororities, fraternities, and community-based organizations. This decentralized approach will enable black public officials, whose participation is crucial, to stress the impact increased registration may have on local races. The third task, the transfer of information and resources, will be managed by the National Urban Coalition.

The following is a list of "primary focus states" in which the National Coalition or VEP will conduct registration and GOTV campaigns. If you are a resident of one of these states and would like to become involved, the National Coalition in Washington (202 626-3552) or VEP in Atlanta (404 522-7495) can put you in touch with a local representative.

National Coalition

Illinois
Maryland
Michigan
Missouri
New Jersey
New York
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Texas

VEP

Alabama
Arkansas
Georgia
Louisiana
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee

A Black Women's Place

(Continued from page 4)

to be a deciding factor in 1984, but the National Black Women's Political Caucus is determined to ensure that the support or acquiescence of this important constituency is never again taken for granted.

The caucus is a membership organization and its founders invite all interested black women to join. For further information, write:

Shirley Chisholm
Chair
National Black Women's Political Caucus
P.O. Box 75013
Washington, D.C. 20013

Welfare Policy and the Working Poor

by Barbara Harrison Linden

(Dr. Linden is a sociologist specializing in welfare and employment related issues.)

A recent study by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service estimates that at least 557,000 people were made poor by restrictions in the social welfare budget enacted since President Reagan took office. (The Census Bureau classifies as poor a family of four whose cash income is less than $10,178 per year.) Since 1981, changes brought about by the budget reconciliation acts have excluded thousands of families from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Medicaid, and food stamp eligibility, and thousands more have had these benefits reduced.

Many of these measures were put in place with little or no attention to the results of pertinent research and often with little awareness of how the programs operate. Instead, the policy changes reflect administration officials' emphasis on stricter cost-cutting measures, tighter controls over sources of fraud and error in the various programs, and closer targeting of benefits at those defined as "most needy."

AFDC: An Example

Aid to Families with Dependent Children is one of the social welfare programs most heavily affected by the new policies. Four changes in AFDC regulations have been especially important in the past four years: the institution of monthly reporting, which requires clients to report their income and work status each month for use in the calculation of the following month's payment; the exclusion of AFDC clients who have earnings over 150 percent of a state's need standard (set by the state legislature, the need standard is the subsistence level income used to determine eligibility for assistance); a reduction in work-related child-care expenses that may be deducted from income in calculating benefit levels; and the adoption by states of requirements that recipients participate in a variety of additional job-related programs.

Monthly reporting was intended to guard against unreported changes in income and other circumstances leading to ineligibility or overpayments: if reporting forms are not completed correctly or on time, clients are declared ineligible for benefits and dropped from the program, even if their income is still insufficient. However, a recently released New York State study shows that nearly one-quarter of the cases administratively closed there were terminated contrary to regulations, and 30 percent of the closings were reopened within two months.

Furthermore, studies of error rates in AFDC show that overpayments, underpayments, and payments to ineligible recipients are due more often to agency errors rather than client misreporting. Finally, and most important in budgetary terms, the most recent reviews of the impact of monthly reporting show that it has not reduced incorrect payments.

AFDC recipients with employment income have been hardest hit by the new policies because of the changes in the level of allowable income and stricter limitations on work-related and child-care expenses. In 1980, before introduction of the new policies, 28 percent of AFDC recipients with outside income left the program after a year. This percentage increased to 55 percent in the year following the enactments. Average grant reductions for employed persons who remained in AFDC were $57 monthly.

Before the new regulations became law, a family head earning $580 each month could have $362 of that income disregarded, and count $218 toward the calculation of AFDC benefits, which would amount to $202 in a state with a need standard of $420 a month. Under the new rules, this person receives $148 a month during the first four months of employment, and nothing thereafter. Consequently, the proportion of heads of households who receive some AFDC but also have income from earnings has declined considerably since 1981.

Since the proportion of earned income that may be disregarded in the calculation of benefits is lower now than under previous administrations, the rate of substitution of earned dollars for benefit dollars is higher. The new policies, therefore, introduce a negative employment incentive into eligibility rules. A 1982 report by the Center for the Study of Social Policy concluded that the higher substitution rate, together with the loss of Medicaid benefits (which occurs in 30 states if the recipient loses AFDC eligibility) would leave many people economically worse off if they accepted a low-wage job than if they did not work and continued to receive benefits.

Work Requirements

In fact, some type of work-related requirement (often referred to as the Community Work Experience Program, or CWEP) has been made mandatory for all states. These programs vary widely in their requirements, and may include registration at state employment agencies, proof that the recipient has applied for a certain number of jobs, participation in employment training programs, work at public service job sites in return for benefits ("Workfare"), or combinations of these.

Sanctions for noncompliance range from withholding benefits from the household head for up to three months to depriving the entire family of its eligibility for longer periods. CWEP proponents say that requiring eligible clients to participate in these programs increases their future employability and improves their chances of leaving welfare or reducing their dependence on it.

There has been little controversy over the wisdom of increasing job opportunities and training for welfare clients. Critics as well as supporters of these programs have always linked the "way out" of welfare to steady employment. Disagreements have concerned questions of means, not ends: what is the most effective method of preparing recipients for employment? Is it advisable to impose the same requirements on all members of a population although they differ widely in employment and education backgrounds? And how wise are present termination and sanction policies—especially in light of the direct effect benefit reductions have on children in these families?

Evaluations of past and present work requirements have shown that most clients do not find employment; that jobs, when found, are low-paying and usually

(Continued on page 7)

Telescope

The Civil Rights Act of 1984

In its ruling in *Grove City College of Pennsylvania* in February of this year, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits sex discrimination in schools receiving federal aid, applied only to those educational programs and activities actually receiving aid, not the entire institution. The Ford and Carter administrations had supported the interpretation that if any single school program or activity received federal aid, the entire institution was subject to the provisions of Title IX and could have its federal funds cut off for noncompliance. The dramatic growth in the number of women participating in high school and college sports during the 1970s can be attributed to Title IX and similar statutes barring discrimination in schools.

The Reagan administration, however, has argued for the much narrower interpretation of Title IX upheld in *Grove City College*—that it applies only to those specific activities receiving federal aid—and, more significantly, has applied this interpretation to other major civil rights statutes prohibiting discrimination in institutions receiving federal aid: Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. As a consequence, the federal government may now subsidize institutions that discriminate against women, minorities, the disabled, and senior citizens.

In an attempt to restore the four civil rights statutes to their original scope, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill—the Civil Rights Act of 1984—by a vote of 375-32. That bill is now in the Senate, where it has 63 co-sponsors, including a number of influential Republicans. However, the administration and Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Jesse Helms (R-NC), and John East (R-NC) are vigorously opposing the bill. Senators Hatch, Helms, and East are expected to filibuster the bill when it reaches the Senate floor. With less than a month left before the 98th Congress adjourns, such a filibuster would seriously jeopardize chances for passage of the bill. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 165 national organizations representing blacks and other minorities, women, labor, and religious groups, is leading a major effort to obtain Senate passage of the bill. The LCCR is urging all concerned citizens to write their senators in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1984.

New JCPS Senior Military Fellow

Colonel James R. Daugherty, U.S. Army, has been selected to participate in the Joint Center's Senior Fellows Program. Daugherty will be in residence at the Joint Center for one year, through July 1984, conducting research on military manpower and personnel issues and participating in other Joint Center activities.

Daugherty has been in the Army for 21 years. His most recent position was a deputy director in the Office of the Adjutant General of the U.S. Army. Previous assignments have included administration and personnel management in The First Infantry Division, Ft. Riley, Kansas, and the Office of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army; and that of academic advisor at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. He received his Bachelor's degree in social science from St. John's University in Minnesota and his Master's degree in education from Pepperdine University. Daugherty is succeeding Colonel Wade S. Gatling of the U.S. Air Force, who completed his one-year fellowship with the center this past July.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1984

Since 1970, the Joint Center has published an annual roster of black elected officials. The thirteenth volume of the *Roster* is now available from UNIPUB, a division of the R. R. Bowker Company, which is publishing the *Roster* for the center.

The cutoff date for the *Roster* has been shifted from June 30 to January 30 of each year to allow reporting of the results of the November elections in a more timely manner. The thirteenth volume lists all 5,700 blacks in office as of January 1984. As in previous editions, each official's address and office expiration date are included, as are demographic and political data for each state. Tables and charts highlight significant statistical features and trends, such as the number of black elected officials in each state, by level of office; changes in the number of black elected officials from year to year, since 1970; cities with black mayors; the number of blacks in state legislators; changes in black female representation, and much more.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1984 is available for $27.50 per copy from UNIPUB, P.O. Box 1222, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, or call toll free 800 521-8110.

Welfare Policy . . .

(Continued from page 6)

short-term; that dependence on welfare does not decrease, and that welfare budgets are not reduced. Nevertheless, the usefulness of work requirements continues to be debated, and estimates of the savings gained from work requirements also vary substantially. For example, the administration's estimates of the savings attributable to work requirements (from decreased need for benefits, fewer applications, sanctions, and terminations) are more than one-fifth higher than those estimated by the Congressional Budget Office. A Government Accounting Office review of CWEP found that the lack of detailed information made it impossible to attribute any cost reductions to these programs: "The evidence on the effectiveness of CWEP is inconclusive. It may or may not be producing AFDC budget savings."

So, instead of bolstering inadequate incomes with support payments, the recent changes in AFDC have further exacerbated distinctions between working and nonworking welfare recipients. And they have done this without achieving their express goals of helping unemployed clients find lasting employment or reducing costs substantially. Public opinion about the welfare system and those who must depend on it, therefore, will likely worsen. Furthermore, without improved job training programs, employment opportunities are likely to remain limited for unskilled AFDC clients—even as payment levels decline, putting still more parents and children at risk.

JCPS Survey of Political Attitudes

On August 30, the Joint Center for Political Studies released the first results from a poll of 900 blacks and 1,300 whites on a wide range of political questions. The poll probes the political attitudes of both blacks and whites toward Jesse Jackson, the presidential candidates, and the state of the nation. It also explores voter registration and likely turnout. The most significant findings in four major areas:

(1) Blacks head toward the November elections as an extremely unified voting group. They prefer Walter Mondale to Ronald Reagan by 88 percent to 5 percent; even black Republicans generally oppose President Reagan and plan to vote for Mondale.

—An overwhelming majority of blacks—82 percent—disapprove of Reagan's job performance, compared to 32 percent of whites.
—72 percent of blacks see Ronald Reagan as "prejudiced"; 13 percent see Walter Mondale as "prejudiced."
—Black opinion is highly consistent across regions, income levels, occupations, and even gender.

(2) Blacks still lag behind whites in voter registration by about 5 percentage points. However, 7 percent of the black voting-age population has registered to vote since 1982, compared to 4 percent of voting-age whites.

—Of the newly registered blacks, 88 percent reported hearing a speech on the importance of voter registration before they registered, and 84 percent said Jesse Jackson's campaign made them more likely to vote in November. Seventy-four percent of registered blacks are under 35 years old.
—Most newly registered whites—68 percent—support Ronald Reagan; 26 percent support Walter Mondale; and 7 percent are undecided.
—81 percent of blacks registering for the first time did so not at traditional registration offices but at shopping centers, church-sponsored activities, or other on-site registration locations.
—In the past, black turnout has lagged behind white turnout by 10 percentage points. In 1984, 55 percent of blacks and 61 percent of whites say they will definitely vote—a 6 percentage point gap.

(3) Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidential nomination has had a lasting effect on the politics of 1984.

—67 percent of blacks feel that Jackson has had "a great deal of effect" on Democratic party policies.
—65 percent of blacks say Jackson's campaign has made them more likely to vote in November, and 56 percent say his endorsement of the Mondale-Ferraro ticket makes them more likely to vote Democratic.
—40 percent of blacks think black political influence is increasing, and 36 percent consider Jackson's campaign the most important reason.
—However, there is also evidence of white backlash to Jackson. Among whites, 17 percent say they are less likely to vote for Mondale because of Jackson's endorsement, compared to 10 percent who say they are more likely to vote for Mondale. In the South, whites are less likely to vote Democratic, by 19 percent to 8 percent, because of Jackson.

(4) Blacks and whites assess the state of the nation very differently.

—48 percent of whites but only 14 percent of blacks are satisfied with the way things are going in the country.
—38 percent of blacks but only 6 percent of whites think civil rights is one of the most important issues in this year's presidential campaign.
—40 percent of blacks and 15 percent of whites think "white people want to keep blacks down."
—A plurality of whites feels better off financially today than four years ago; a plurality of blacks feels worse off today.

The Joint Center developed the survey in consultation with the Gallup Organization, which conducted the interviews for the center during the last weekend in July and the first weekend in August. The center commissioned the poll because most nationwide polls include only a small sample of blacks—100 to 150 is common. The large JCPS sample gives a much more accurate and detailed view of the attitudes of the black population. The JCPS sample contains 902 blacks, for a sampling error of 4 percent, and 1,365 whites, for a sampling error of 3 percent.

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JCPS Conference Report No. 6: The Civil Rights Act—Two Decades Later.

A Modest Achievement

Professor John Hope Franklin says the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was only a first step toward decency in human relations.

Health Problems, Political Cures

Politics, not biology, is to blame for the health risks borne by poor women and children.

A Dangerous Indifference

TV programming reveals our hidden attitudes toward our children and their education.

Blacks and the 1990 Census

There are many reasons to get involved now in planning for the next Census.

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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

Voter turnout will be the key to the November elections, despite what the pols and the polls say today about who is ahead. The groups, the candidates, and political parties that do the best job of mobilizing their troops are likely to come out ahead on election day. That is why so much attention is focused on voter registration and turnout and why so much money is being spent to mobilize voters.

Both the Republican party and the Democratic party are reportedly spending millions to mobilize support. Voter registration campaigns, once considered the special province of Democrats, have caught fire among Republicans and among a host of conservative groups closely allied with the Reagan candidacy. Most notable among these groups are the Moral Majority and the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). Some new groups have also been added this year, and they are making hard pitches to their constituents.

One such group is Americans for Responsive Government (ARG), which describes itself as a nonpartisan, tax-exempt organization. Its pitch to corporate executives and others is quite clear:

> We must do everything possible to increase the participation of *all* Americans in the electoral process—not just certain special groups such as those Jesse Jackson and the AFL-CIO are working with. It is hoped, however, that the large majority of those we register will be strong supporters of the free enterprise system and those who understand the importance of contributions of the private sector to the future of our great country.

The thrust of this appeal is about as subtle as a ton of bricks. But just in case the letter's text did not hit the right mark, it concluded with the following postscript:

> If you are planning to be at the Republican National Convention, please have your office contact (name). I am planning a reception and would like you to attend.

Another voter registration drumbeat was sounded by the National Wholesale Hardware Association. In a voter mobilization effort aimed exclusively at its "white collar and managerial personnel," a recent NWHA newsletter urged: "We and others in the business community must implement our own nonpartisan registration program among our white-collar workers to ensure that free enterprise views will be fully represented at the polls on November 6th."

Nonpartisan voter mobilization activities oriented toward liberals have also proliferated. They are focusing on potential voters who are more likely to support moderate to liberal candidates, especially among Democrats.

What we have, then, is a voter mobilization war. The battles are being waged in the media, in the mail, in meetings, and wherever another footsoldier can be recruited to register and vote. It behooves those of us who have a real stake in the outcome of the elections to go into battle with fervor.

And there is much more at stake on November 6 than the presidency, although that is the single most important position in the land. The Congress—all 435 House seats and one-third of the Senate seats will be contested—is also extremely important both as a legislative body and as a bulwark against an imperial presidency. And in each of our states, counties, and towns, local races are vital to our social, economic, and political welfare.

The elections offer an opportunity to be heard, to be counted, and to make a difference. Even when the candidate of your choice does not win, the size of his or her vote communicates a message. None of us can afford to sit out even one election.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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A Modest Achievement

by John Hope Franklin

(The author is professor of history at Duke University. This is an abridged version of a speech given by Mr. Franklin at a JCPS dinner commemorating the Civil Rights Act of 1964.)

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That act extended to black Americans a body of simple but quite fundamental rights that members of any civilized society expect to enjoy. This, then, is the twentieth anniversary of black Americans being able to secure a room in a public inn, eat a meal in a public dining facility, have an equal opportunity to secure a job, and be protected in their efforts to secure and enjoy these and other rights. It is nothing short of astounding that we feel moved to observe an anniversary such as this. The fact that we do so is a measure of the begrudging manner in which this nation has conceded equality to all of its citizens. By any standards, it is, at most, a modest achievement.

Real Intentions

There never was any intention to treat Africans as equals, even when they were free. In the seventeenth century, white colonists discriminated against black indentured servants who were free. It was all right for Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams to fight Britain because they found taxation without representation repugnant, but it was unacceptable for free black Americans to expect to vote when they were required to pay taxes. Afro-American soldiers in the Civil War were expected to risk their lives fighting for freedom and union, but were court-martialed when they insisted on receiving the same pay that white soldiers received.

Later, the practices that had evolved during slavery became the pattern for racial policies established after emancipation. The racially segregated schools of Massachusetts and Connecticut in the 1840s became the models for racially segregated schools of Mississippi and Alabama in the 1880s. The federal Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, did not guarantee equality for black Americans, and neither did the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. If anything, the reconstruction amendments merely confused the issue and laid the foundation for states and local governments to deprive Negroes of what few civil rights they did have.

In 1875, Congress passed the first Civil Rights Act, which held that all persons should be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement. As the *New York Times* boasted at the time, however, this act was a dead letter from the beginning. It never provided any substantial protection for blacks in their efforts to secure and enjoy their rights. This was so not only because of the massive resistance of white business establishments but also because of the appalling dereliction on the part of officials of the U.S. government in enforcing the law. During the eight years of its life, the act was virtually ignored by U.S. presidents, enforcement officers, and courts.

Ceding Authority to the States

In 1883 the United States Supreme Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, declaring that Congress did not have power to pass laws regulating the conduct and transactions of individuals unless it was clothed with direct and plenary powers of legislation over a whole subject. The "wrongful acts of an individual," declared Mr. Justice Bradley, "unsupported by state authority in the shape of laws, customs, judicial or executive proceedings were simply a private wrong or a crime of that individual." Relief or redress must be sought from the state, the Court said, and not from the federal government. Upon reading the verdict one depressed Afro-American said, "We have been baptized in ice water."

The remarkable thing about the 1883 decision is that it not only withheld fundamental rights from some eight million black Americans, but at the same time it encouraged white Americans to degrade and humiliate blacks even further. In telling them to seek relief from the state, the Court sent black Americans back to their most relentless oppressor. At the same time, it stimulated the enactment into law of those practices that fixed on Negroes the status of pariahs of the land and invited any and all to heap scorn on those they wished to degrade.

States and towns passed laws requiring blacks and whites to use separate elevators, separate telephone booths, separate drinking fountains, separate warehouses for storing school books used by black and white children, separate waiting rooms, separate cemeteries for pets of black and white owners, separate entrances and exits in buildings. Whites could, of course, violate the law without the slightest fear that anything would be done about it. It is doubtful that the states would have succeeded in erecting the complete system of apartheid they built before World War I had not the federal government removed itself from the picture altogether and assigned to the states full responsibility in this area.

The federal government made a dramatic, final departure from the area when the Supreme Court gave its blessing to racially separate facilities in 1896 in the celebrated case of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. Although it nodded in the direction of the Constitution by suggesting that facilities be equal, the Court made no ringing declaration in favor of equality that the states could not ignore. Consequently, no president, no court, no U.S. attorney, no governor, no sheriff, no constable seemed the least bit interested in enforcing the principle of equality. From the outset, separate was inherently unequal.

Pursuing Civil Rights

As late as the end of World War II, the prospects for achieving full civil rights for black Americans within the foreseeable future were not at all bright. Since blacks were virtually without political power, there was little hope of securing any significant legislation on their behalf until they had established their claim to certain rights under the Constitution. Other approaches had already been tried and had failed.

Ever since Reconstruction, Negro Americans had organized in an effort to force the government to live up to its professed ideals. In Washington, D.C., they organized the Progressive and Cooperative Union; in New Orleans it was the Young Men's Progressive Association. In Kansas, Rhode Island, and Texas they held state conventions, and in Chicago in 1890 some 147 delegates from 21 states and the District

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 3)

of Columbia organized the Afro-American League of the United States. The league called for a more equitable distribution of school funds, a fair and impartial trial for accused Negroes, and resistance "by all legal and reasonable means to mob and lynch law and tyrannical usages and abuses by railroad, steamboat, and other corporations, the destruction of color bars wherever they exist, and the enjoyment of the franchise by all qualified voters."

Despite repeated protests and demands, however, Negroes remained subject to an American racism that was as vicious and cruel as it was pervasive and successful. Blacks had been effectively disfranchised, becoming the victims of segregation statutes that revealed a perverse resourcefulness and imagination. Lynchings were increasing with every passing year.

These were things that W. E. B. DuBois and his fellow members of the Niagara Movement saw in 1905 when they said: "We believe that Negroes should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in manhood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, so intelligent, or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor."

Experience had shown, though, that it would take more than words to change things significantly. Indeed, it would take an enormous amount of energy, dedication, and concentrated assault over two generations to begin to dismantle the carefully erected racial caste system that had been in the making since 1883. It was not merely that Negroes could not enter a theater or get a cup of coffee or ride in comfort on public transportation. It was also that as a degraded people, without a semblance of political power, they could not wield any influence to get jobs or to secure a decent education for their children and adequate housing for their families. Hence, their turn to the courts, where they began, gradually, to see some encouraging results.

There was, for example, the final blow dealt the Democratic white primary in the Supreme Court's decision in *Smith* v. *Albright* in 1944. There was the successful attack on segregated housing in the celebrated case of *Shelly* v. *Kraemer* in 1948. There were the victories against segregated education at all levels in a series of significant decisions ranging from *Sweatt* v. *Painter* in 1950 to *Brown* v. *The Board of Education* in 1954.

After these decisions the tide began to turn. The legislative branch of the federal government began work in the area of civil rights in 1957, and the executive branch, which initially prodded Congress to do more, began to take the initiative itself by issuing executive orders to improve the condition of civil rights. Pressed rather courteously by President John F. Kennedy and prodded relentlessly by his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, Congress finally passed an act whose comprehensive nature was indicative of the denial of basic human rights from which Negro Americans had long suffered.

Despite its comprehensive nature, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 proved inadequate. It was, as I have said, a modest achievement. It dealt with voting rights, and yet it became necessary to enact a stronger, more definitive voting rights act the very next year. It strengthened and made more independent the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Yet, during this past year, the independence of the commission has been seriously compromised and its status reduced to *that of a political arm of the present administration.* There was an air of optimism in the way in which the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission went about its work, but in time it became clear that neither the existence of the commission nor the diligence of its members could break the log-jam of discrimination against blacks in the workplace. All of this reflects the durability and tenacity of the racism that has flourished virtually unchecked over the previous seven decades.

This is not to say that things have not changed, for indeed they have. The decision in *Brown,* the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 effected some changes that can be described as significant. By the end of the sixties, the changes in the status of blacks in American life were apparent even to the casual observer. But as Martin Luther King, Jr. said so often, "We have come a long way, but we still have a long way to go."

At the beginning of the seventies Negro Americans—who had adopted the motto "Free by '63" and who cheered President Lyndon B. Johnson when he repeated the words "We shall overcome"—really did not have much to celebrate. Their leaders—Malcolm X, Dr. King, W.E.B. Dubois, Whitney Young, and others—were gone or going. Almost as disturbing as the loss of leadership was the evident inappropriateness of the old approaches and techniques for the new and tougher problems. Marches and demonstrations that excited everyone and aggravated many in the sixties were no longer effective. More often than not, decisions affecting blacks were being made in the board rooms of corporations and banks, on the nineteenth hole of the country club, or in the lounge of the city club. One could demand new legislation, but who could devise a law comprehensive enough and ingenious enough to deal with the subtleties of clever evaders or faithless law enforcement officers?

A Step toward Decency

These comments on the status of the civil rights of Negro Americans indicate, I hope, both the complexity of the problem and the inadequacy of all efforts to solve it so far. They are meant to suggest that in any effort to clear away the brambles and, yes, the jungle brought on by three centuries of the deliberate denigration of black Americans, more than the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is necessary. Thus, in observing its anniversary, we commemorate a *step* toward decency in human relations that should have been taken in 1619. History has taught us that when we betray ourselves and our promise in 1776, 1787, 1865, and 1868, it becomes increasingly difficult for a so-called egalitarian nation to get back on the track of justice and equality.

Until we achieve the long-delayed equality for all of our citizens, the criticisms we level at other nations for their denial of human rights must be regarded as empty and hypocritical. Our observance of this important anniversary should inspire us to work to bring to pass all that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 promised.